

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 07460 01 OF 03 091324Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9941

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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PAGE 02 BONN 07460 01 OF 03 091324Z

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 07460

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: GERMANY THIRTY YEARS AFTERWARDS

SUMMARY: THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN SURRENDER IS MARKED BY AN ACCELERATING GENERATIONAL CHANGE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC THAT COINCIDES WITH THE EROSION OF SOME BASIC POLITICAL CATEGORIES OF THE PAST, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS EAST-WEST RELATIONS. MYTHS ABOUT THE GERMANS PERSIST, CULTIVATED DELIBERATELY BY THE RUSSIANS, AND IN THE WEST WE DO NOT REALIZE SUFFICIENTLY THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH A NEW GERMANY. GERMAN POWER, WEALTH AND EFFICIENCY ARE SELF-EVIDENT, BUT A MORE VITAL ACHIEVEMENT HAS BEEN THE REGAINING OF MORAL INTEGRITY. GERMAN PARADOXES PERSIST AS ONE HISTORICAL PERIOD CLOSES AND ANOTHER OPENS. DESPITE ALL THAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED, THE GERMANS HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THEMSELVES, AND THE US ROLE WILL BE CRITICAL FOR THE GERMAN FUTURE. TO SPEAK OF THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY HAS AN OLD FASHIONED RING, YET THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES BY OTHER MEANS. IN A SENSE, IT COULD BE SAID THAT IT IS ONLY BEGINNING. THE RUSSIANS PLAY A MASSIVE, PATIENT GAME, BUT WE HAVE POWERFUL ASSETS AND INSTRUMENTALITIES READY TO HAND. END SUMMARY.

1. THE MOST OBVIOUS, AND MOST IMPORTANT, POINT TO MAKE ABOUT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE GERMANS ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY IS THE GENERATIONAL CHANGE THAT IS TAKING PLACE. IF IT WERE NOT FOR THAT, THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY WOULD NOT SEEM ALL THAT DIFFERENT FROM THE 20TH, OR PERHAPS EVEN THE 10TH. MANY OF THE INTERESTS AND THEMES ARE THE SAME AS IN THE PAST IN THE CURRENT WAVE OF RETROSPECTION IN TV SHOWS AND MEDIA COMMENT ON THE CLOSING PERIOD OF WWII AND THE EARLY POST-SURRENDER PERIOD: THE DESPERATE HARDSHIPS AND DANGERS, PHYSICAL AND MORAL RUIN. GOETTERDAEMMERUNG STILL EXERCISES ITS MORBID CHARM. BUT THE FACT IS THAT IT IS ALL GETTING TO BE ANCIENT HISTORY TO MOST OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE. FASCINATING PERHAPS, LIKE AN OLD PICTURE ALBUM, BUT INCREASINGLY DISTANT AND NO LONGER VERY RELEVANT. THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BONN 07460 01 OF 03 091324Z

GENERATIONAL POINT CAN BE MADE IN MANY WAYS. ONE INSIGHT IS THAT THIS YEAR A PROMISING BUNDESWEHR OFFICER WILL BE GETTING HIS FIRST STAR WHO NEVER SERVED IN THE WEHRMACHT (HE WAS AN EARLY TEEN-AGER IN 1945). THIS OFFICER WOULD BE THE LAST TO CUT HIMSELF OFF FROM GERMAN TRADITION, BUT HIS WHOLE PROFESSIONAL LIFE HAS BEEN IN THE POST-WWII WORLD. OTHERS LIKE HIM ARE NOW MOVING INTO POSITIONS OF COMMAND IN GERMAN POLITICS, IN THE

ECONOMY, THE ARTS AND THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.

2. THE FACT THAT WE HAVE A NEW GERMANY AND NEW GENERATION OF GERMANS TO DEAL WITH IS SO OBVIOUS THAT IT IS OVERLOOKED BY MANY. THERE IS STILL A TENDENCY TO THINK OF GERMANY IN THE STEREOTYPES AND CLICHES OF THE PAST. THE GERMAN DANGER, GERMAN EXTREMISM, GERMAN NEUROTICISM, GERMAN INCALCULABILITY, GERMAN PIG-HEADEDNESS, GERMAN CLUMSINESS -- BALANCED, BUT NOT REALLY BALANCED, BY THE PROVERBIAL BUT UNCOMFORTABLE VIRTUES, CHIEFLY INDUSTRIOUSNESS AND EFFICIENCY. A MAIN PURPOSE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMEMORATIVE ORGY OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY IS PRESUMABLY TO PERPETUATE MEMORIES AND IMAGES OF THE OLD GERMANY. UNDERSTANDABLE ENOUGH ON THE PART OF THE RUSSIANS, BUT IT IS MORE NECESSARY THAN EVER FOR THE REST OF US TO DEAL WITH THE NEW REALITIES.

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PAGE 01 BONN 07460 02 OF 03 091329Z

42

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PAGE 02 BONN 07460 02 OF 03 091329Z

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 07460

3. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TODAY IS NOT ONLY PROSPEROUS AND POWERFUL AND EFFICIENT. IT IS ALL THAT, BUT MUCH MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT HAS RECOVERED ITS MORAL FIBER. IT PRACTICES THE RULE OF LAW, DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM, TOLERANCE, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. ITS SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM AND ITS LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ARE A MODEL OF RESPONSIBILITY AND ENLIGHTENMENT. THE QUALITY OF ITS PUBLIC LIFE AND PUBLIC MEN STANDS COMPARISON WITH ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. THIS IS A BREATHTAKING ACCOMPLISHMENT CONSIDERING THE POINT OF DEPARTURE 30 YEARS AGO. WE HAVE COME TO TAKE THIS ALL FOR GRANTED, WRONGLY, BECAUSE THE EFFORT NEEDED WAS PRODIGIOUS ON THE PART OF THE GERMANS -- AND OURSELVES. THE IMPORTANCE AND SOLIDITY OF THIS ACHIEVEMENT, IN GERMANY AND EUROPE AS A WHOLE, REPRESENT A HISTORICAL ACCOMPLISHMENT FOR THE FREE WORLD AND AMERICAN POLICY.

4. THE GERMANS, LIKE OTHERS, ARE LOOKING BACK AT THEIR PAST ON THIS ANNIVERSARY. PRESIDENT SCHEEL SET THE TONE IN HIS ELOQUENT ADDRESS IN THE BONN UNIVERSITY SCHLOSSKIRCHE MAY 6. HE DID NOT TRY TO EXERCISE THE CHEAP OPTION OF GOING OVER THE PAST LIGHTLY AND CASTING HIS ADDRESS SOLELY IN UPBEAT, FORWARD-LOOKING TERMS. RATHER HE DWELT ON THE FAILURE OF THE OLDER GENERATION

OF GERMANS TO SEE REALITIES. HITLER WAS ELECTED, HE REMINDED THE GERMAN PEOPLE, AND THE CRIMES OF THE NAZI PERIOD WERE COMMITTED IN THE NAME OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE WHICH DID NOT ITSELF HAVE THE WILL OR STRENGTH TO END THE HITLER TYRANNY. GERMANS HAVE NO CAUSE TO CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY, SCHEEL SAID. THEY COMMEMORATE THE SACRIFICES OF GERMANY'S EX-ENEMIES IN THEIR VICTORY OVER WRONG, AND THEY COMMEMORATE ALL THE WAR DEAD IN RESPECT AND REVERENCE. BUT MAY 8, 1945 IS A DAY OF CONTRADICTION IN GERMAN HISTORY. SCHEEL CALLED ON HIS FELLOW CITIZENS TO REALIZE THE VALUE OF THEIR ACHIEVEMENT IN BUILDING A STATE BASED ON LAW AND REGAINING RESPECT AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BONN 07460 02 OF 03 091329Z

SELF-RESPECT. HE APPEALED PARTICULARLY TO YOUNG PEOPLE TO LEARN FROM THE FAILURE OF THE OLDER GENERATION OF GERMANS AT THE DECISIVE MOMENT OF HITLER'S COMING TO POWER. THEY SHOULD NOT PERMIT THEMSELVES TO BE MISLED BY DEMAGOGUES AND CRANKS. NO STATE IS PERFECT, SCHEEL CONCLUDED, BUT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OFFERS BETTER CHANCES THAN WERE GIVEN TO ANY OTHER GENERATION OF GERMANS. YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD HELP IMPROVE THE STATE. IT IS WORTH THE EFFORT.

5. AS SCHEEL'S SPEECH SUGGESTS, THE MAIN QUESTION IS, OF COURSE, NOT WHERE THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN, BUT WHERE THEY ARE GOING. THE SIMPLE, TOO SIMPLE, ANSWER IS THAT THEY HAVE NO PLACE TO GO OUTSIDE THE PRESENT POLITICAL CONTEXT. AS IN THE PAST, IT CAN BE ARGUED THEIRS IS A NO-OPTION SITUATION. THIS IS TRUE IN GROSS TERMS, BUT IT IS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF THE DISCUSSION. THE GENERATIONAL CHANGE IS COINCIDING, PERHAPS INEVITABLY, WITH A SHIFT OF POLITICAL VIEWS AND VALUES. THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IS WELL KNOWN. THE COURSE OF EAST-WEST DETENTE, GOING BACK TO THE LATE 60'S, IN WHICH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAS PLAYED A KEY ROLE, HAS MOVED GERMAN POLITICAL THOUGHT, LIKE THAT OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, FROM SIMPLE BLACKS AND WHITES TO NUMEROUS SHADES OF GREY. THE ASSUMPTIONS AND CATEGORIES OF FORMER YEARS, THE CLASSICAL COLD WAR PERIOD, HAVE CRUMBLLED, AND NO CONSISTENT BODY OF DOCTRINE HAS TAKEN THEIR PLACE.

6. IT TAKES A CONSIDERABLE EFFORT EVEN AT THIS SHORT REMOVE TO RECALL THE POST-WWII "STRUGGLE FOR EUROPE," IN WHICH THE "STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY" WAS THE CENTERPIECE AND THE "STRUGGLE FOR BERLIN" OFTEN THE FOCUS OF THE CONTENDING EAST-WEST FORCES. TO MANY THE PHRASES HAVE AN OUT-OF-DATE, ALMOST ANTIQUARIAN RING. YOUNG PEOPLE ESPECIALLY ARE HARD PUT TO UNDERSTAND. YET THE STRUGGLE FOR EUROPE, AND GERMANY (AND BERLIN) CLEARLY CONTINUES,

THOUGH BY OTHER MEANS. THE RUSSIANS KNOW IT. THEY SIT  
IN PATIENT AND COMFORTABLE POSSESSION OF THE GDR, THEIR  
KEY ASSET IN GERMANY'S FUTURE, AND WAIT FOR EVEN BETTER  
THINGS TO COME. THEY HAVE ADJUSTED THEIR BERLIN ASSET  
SOMEWHAT IN THE 1971 QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, NO LONGER  
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PAGE 04 BONN 07460 02 OF 03 091329Z

DIRECTING THEIR THRUST AT THE THREE POWERS BUT RATHER  
PUTTING THEM ON ICE IN THE CITY AND EXPLOITING BERLIN  
PRIMARILY FOR LEVERAGE WITH THE FRG (AND USING THE THREE  
POWERS TO HELP THEM EXERT THAT LEVERAGE). THE FRG-GDR  
RELATIONSHIP AND NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDE ADDITIONAL  
LEVERAGE, AND BEYOND THAT THERE IS THE LURE OF VAST

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PAGE 01 BONN 07460 03 OF 03 091334Z

42

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PAGE 02 BONN 07460 03 OF 03 091334Z

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 07460

SOVIET-FRG TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION SCHEMES. THE RUSSIANS ARE NOT IN A HURRY. THEIR EFFORT IN GERMANY IS MASSIVE AND ON MANY LEVELS. DIRECT THREAT AND PHYSICAL CONFRONTATION ARE OUT AND HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY A BROAD CAMPAIGN AIMED AT EXERTING EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE ON THE KEY AREAS OF GERMAN POLITICAL LIFE.

7. THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE ALL THE CHIPS AND WE HAVE NONE. FAR FROM IT. WE HAVE ON OUR SIDE FIRST OF ALL THE DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE (AND THE US) OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND THEIR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. THERE IS THE STRENGTH AND VIGOR OF THE GERMAN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM (POLITICAL EXTREMISM IS NEGLIGIBLE, NATIONALISM IS TEMPERED WITH REALISM AND PRUDENCE, AND TERRORISM IS AN EXCRESCENCE, NOT A POLITICAL MOVEMENT). IN BILATERAL US-FRG TERMS, A WEB OF RELATIONS BINDS THE TWO COUNTRIES CLOSELY AND PRODUCTIVELY IN ALL SPHERES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE GERMAN VIEW OF AMERICA HAS UNDERGONE RADICAL CHANGE OVER THE YEARS, AND READJUSTMENT CONTINUES. SOME OF THE CHANGE WAS NECESSARY, HEALTHY, AND INEVITABLE. THE MORAL, PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHASM BETWEEN THE US AND GERMANY WHICH SEEMED PRACTICALLY UNBRIDGEABLE IN 1945 HAS NARROWED AS US POWER HAS BEEN

RELATIVIZED. IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD THE GERMANS WERE OVERWHELMED BY AMERICAN POWER AND MORAL STANDING. AMERICAN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND EFFICIENCY FASCINATED THEM. MANY THINGS HAVE CHANGED THAT, NOT LEAST VIETNAM AND WATERGATE WHICH HAVE PUT IN QUESTION NOT ONLY POWER, EFFICIENCY AND MORAL STANDING, BUT ALSO POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. WE ARE NO LONGER ON THE HEIGHTS FOR THE GERMANS, BUT WITH THEM IN THE DUST AND HEAT OF THE ARENA.

8. THUS, AS THE GENERATIONS CHANGE, AS THE OLD ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT EAST-WEST RELATIONS ARE SUBJECT TO SCRUTINY, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BONN 07460 03 OF 03 091334Z

IN GERMANY A HISTORICAL PERIOD IS DRAWING TO A CLOSE AND ANOTHER BEGINNING. AND, FAMILIARLY, THE GERMAN SITUATION IS SHOT THROUGH WITH PARADOX. NO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRY HAS ANYWHERE NEAR THE STRENGTH AND DYNAMISM OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, YET NO WESTERN EUROPEAN PEOPLE HAS THE GERMANS' FUNDAMENTAL DOUBTS ABOUT THEIR OWN ACHIEVEMENTS, STABILITY, AND PROSPECTS. GERMANY IS AT THE SAME TIME THE MOST SOLID AND THE MOST UNEASY COUNTRY IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. THE US ROLE IS CRITICAL FOR THE GERMAN FUTURE. NOT ONLY IN THE SENSE, VITAL AS THAT IS, THAT TOTAL DEPENDENCE ON US NUCLEAR PROTECTION REMAINS THE BASIC FACT OF GERMAN POLITICAL LIFE. JUST AS GERMANY IS CENTRAL TO SOVIET EUROPEAN CALCULATIONS, SO OUR PATIENCE AND DETERMINATION ARE ESSENTIAL IN THE TASK OF KEEPING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN THE POSITIVE MODE SHE HAS BEEN FOLLOWING. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF GERMANS DO NOT WANT TO MANEUVER BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. RAPALLO AND NEUTRALIZATION ARE MYTHS. THEY WANT THE SOLIDITY OF THE US CONNECTION. THEY DO NOT QUESTION US STRENGTH AND RESILIENCE, BUT THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE LONG-TERM DURABILITY OF THE US COMMITMENT. THEY DO NOT DOUBT THE INTENTIONS OF THE US EXECUTIVE BUT THEY WORRY ABOUT NEW TRENDS IN THE CONGRESS AND, BEYOND THAT, THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE POST-VIETNAM SITUATION.

9. WE WOULD STRESS AGAIN THE STRENGTH OF US ASSETS AS A NEW PHASE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY, WHICH IS REAL, BEGINS. THE CHANGES IN THIS COUNTRY SINCE 1945 FAVORABLE TO THE WEST WERE UNIMAGINABLE 30 YEARS AGO. THERE IS AN IMPRESSIVE BASIS ON WHICH TO CONTINUE TO BUILD. CONSOLIDATION OF THE BASE THROUGH PURSUIT OF ALREADY EXISTING RELATIONS IS WHAT IS NEEDED. IT IS ALL THERE FOR US TO USE, THE INSTRUMENTALITIES AT HAND, THE GERMANS WILLING AND RESPONSIVE. THE US-FRG



RELATIONSHIP IS BEYOND GIMICKRY, AND BILATERAL OVERKILL  
IS NOT THE RECIPE EITHER BECAUSE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC  
HAS TO LIVE IN EUROPE. THE FORMULA IS SIMPLE: MUTUAL  
TRUST AND RESPECT IN JOINT PURSUIT OF SHARED GOALS.  
THE SITUATION IS CLEARLY ONE ON WHICH, THROUGH OUR OWN  
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PAGE 04 BONN 07460 03 OF 03 091334Z

ACTIONS, OR THROUGH FAILURE TO ACT, WE WILL EXERT A  
DETERMINING INFLUENCE. THE GERMANS, AND NOT ONLY THE  
GERMANS, WILL BE WATCHING OUR CONDUCT CLOSELY, FOR IT  
WILL BE DECISIVE FOR THE US ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF  
EUROPE.  
HILLENBRAND

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